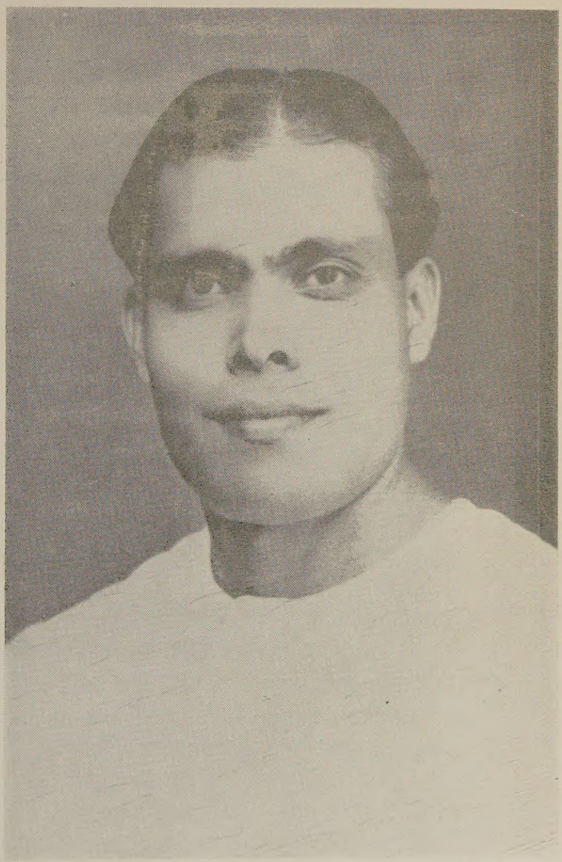
July 1952

Fellowship



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K. K. CHANDY *Visitor*

Chambers, God, and the Communists, by A. J. Muste

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ff This issue contains the third in FELLOWSHIP'S series on intentional communities with "Community in the Wilderness" by Grace Rhoads, about the Bruderhof in Paraguay, where she recently spent three months. . . . A. J. Muste analyzes a fascinating and controversial book, Whittaker Chambers' *Witness*, the story of a life, a mode of thinking, that has much significance in our time. . . . A statement of belief by Richard Gregg, author of *The Power of Nonviolence*, is "What Gives Me Strength." Mr. Gregg lives in Jamaica, Vermont, and is kept very busy with sugaring off and other occupations of the man on the land, between writing articles, attending the World Pacifist Congress in India, and other activities. . . . An exchange of letters between Senator Herbert H. Lehman on the one hand, and E. Raymond Wilson and Rhoads Murphey of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, shows the misgivings one man harbored when he voted for the Japanese Peace Treaty and Security pact. Lehman had it printed in the Congressional Record, after calling it to the attention of his colleagues.

FELLOWSHIP is not issued in August.

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the

Fellowship of Reconciliation

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New York 32, N. Y.

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FELLOWSHIP is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second-class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

20 Cents a Copy $2 a year

Fellowship

the journal of the Fellowship of Reconciliation

JULY 1952 VOLUME 18, NUMBER 7

the bruderhof in paraguay is a

Community in the Wilderness

By GRACE RHOADS

As a result of meeting and talking to a member of the Society of Brothers in 1951, I was moved to make the month-long journey by boat to Buenos Aires and up the Paraná and Paraguay rivers to Asunción, (to be reached in thirty hours from Philadelphia by plane), and on another night by river and forty miles by ancient truck into the jungle. There in remote central Paraguay I found the three villages forming the community of Primavera—six hundred and fifty men, women and children of fifteen nationalities, living in full community. I spent three months there, wishing to learn to know it as the nearest I had found to Christian living.

A visitor's first strong impression is of the number of children everywhere. Frequently six or seven surrounded their parents at family breakfast and early tea, then went off to join their age groups in baby house, toddler house, kindergarten and school through the day. Jolly, healthy children they were, with their braids and bright aprons, their sun-hats and their pen-knives, showing one the ways of the woods, harnessing the pet donkey with which they fetched wood or grapefruit, practicing plays to celebrate weddings or homecomings, learning shoemaking and bread-baking, riding headlong across the prairie to drive the cattle home, studying

seriously in school, listening to the occasional reminder to be quiet or to the reading aloud at their evening meal-time, as the day drew to its quick sub-tropical close.

Cooperation in Tasks

The remarkable degree of cooperation was another strong early impression—how the group was always ready to fill in for someone ill or otherwise occupied, although everyone's day was already packed with duties, starting for the women with getting the house in order, then going to various posts at kitchen and kindergarten, laundry and sewing room, and coming back at evening to family mending and putting the babies to bed. The men started even earlier their outside tasks in field and wood-working shop, garden and power-house, dairy and rodeo, and usually got home at dark just in time to help wash up the children and perhaps have a game with them before they fell asleep. Owing to the climate there is a pause of about two hours in the middle of the day, but some have to work even then.

Two or three evenings a week were sometimes needed to settle the business affairs of the group. Guests did not attend the inner meetings of the Bruderschaft, but one heard later of the decisions: So and so was to go to the new Bruderhof House at Montevideo, established to facilitate contact with the outside world. A shipment of machinery or wheat was due, and several of the younger men would be required at the port to help unload. The children were to start a two weeks' vacation to gather oranges and bottle the juice. An ill Paraguayan was to be conveyed by special plane to Asunción for special medical care.

The small hospital in one of th three villages played a prominer part in the life of the community To it children were carried o horseback with a broken bone c chopped finger; there at the Mut ter-Haus new babies were bor and the mother given a ten-day re before and after; there periodi dental examinations took place an the older people acquired the ne teeth necessitated by the hard lif and poor diet of the past eleve years; there Paraguayans came i dozens to be cured of hookworm virulent whooping cough, blood poisoning, and Leishmaniosis, th South American kala-azar. Th three English doctors, a man an two women, and the two Swiss an one Paraguayan nurse were in constant state of overwork and ye served all who came—some of ther three days' journey by horse—fo the help they knew they would find no matter how poor the communit might be at the moment.

Then one noted how the Para guayans living and working wit the Brothers were becoming mor like them and beginning to join th community. Coming from house with just a breezeway as living room between the kitchen and th one dark sleeping-room, their chil dren nevertheless had keen mind and learned rapidly in school wit the others. One family with te children had just joined the com munity, the first to come in, an had in the natural course of thing been given an equal share of th scarce clothing, bedding and sup plies.

The community is very poor, fo when it came to Paraguay it ha lost practically all its property, an had to start fresh in the wilderness The group was founded in 192 when Eberhard Arnold, young Stu

dent Christian Movement secretary in Germany, became convinced that the only life to help the disillusioned returning soldiers of his day was a community where all would work together. He had studied the Bible deeply and determined to live out in the present day the life of the first Christian community, not copying it slavishly but following the spirit of the early Church. In this desire to call men to a new life rather than a new denomination he resembled George Fox.

Settled at Last

After the first years in Germany when thousands of visitors annually almost flooded the little community, the Bruderhof was beginning to get on its feet. Then came Hitler and increasing suppression of its activities, forcing the Brothers to leave for Switzerland and Lichtenstein, and later to move to England. There they lived for four years until 1941, when again they felt they must move, faced by the impending internment of their German members. They came to Paraguay, the one place willing to receive them on short notice, and as the different groups arrived they built long sheds, at first with packing boxes as side walls, until they could close them in from the piercing South wind which blows periodically in winter. Now permanent buildings are going up, the best being of a dark brown brick, and the hospital is being extended, but living space is still at a premium.

The average age in the community is far younger than most, the adults being mostly between 35 and 45, and the composition of the group is much more varied than that of the usual American "intentional community." Not only is there variety of nationality, (though the majority are German and English, there are also a number of Swiss and Dutch and representatives of many other countries), but of background, with almost all professions and walks of life, degrees of education and variety of religious experience seeming to be represented.

Keen Young People

The "Jugend," or active group of young people from the age of 15 to about 25, are among the finest young people I have ever met, keen and thoughtful yet full of fun. I sat with them around a campfire, singing, and discussed with them on other occasions their attitude toward the community and the outside world. Each gets training of some kind, and a number are going as far as Montevideo and England for it. Each must make up his mind whether to join the community, and no attempt is made to influence that decision. The great majority remain, convinced that this life of brotherhood is the answer to the world's ills. Like their parents they see the vision of the community as a City Set on a Hill. This does not mean they have no interest in the rest of the world. Many of them would like greatly a chance to come to North America to see for themselves the life here about which they have learned from visitors, books and occasional movies.

Religion here is something different from what one has met elsewhere. It is a matter of relatively little talk, except as questions are raised—it is much more a matter of living. There is no separate church building, and each village meets in its dining hall. It is a

surprise to note that children do not attend the service on Sunday mornings, but instead are taken off for walks. When the young people feel ready and want to come to the meeting for worship they ask permission of the group. Then they join in the service of reading with explanation, singing of religious songs, and something much like the Quaker silent meeting with speaking as people feel inspired to speak. In their earlier years the children go three times a week to the "morning hour" with one of the experienced older people who leads them in studying Bible stories or reading some book, for example about a little girl working in a factory, or in discussion of life problems.

About Religion

How does the religion of the community affect its government? One returning visitor criticized Primavera as a theocracy. It seemed to me much more like a Quaker meeting for business, in which light is sought for the group by all—a democracy in which even a minority of one can delay a decision until all come to unity. It is the whole group that chooses certain people of recognized ability to lead in various ways, and the group can and does change the leadership at times.

The ways of internal government are those of the Hutterites whom the Society of Brothers joined in 1930 as expressing the most clearly and fully the beliefs of the Society. The main difference between the two groups is that the Hutterites wish to withdraw from the world, whereas the Society of Brothers regrets its forced isolation and is constantly reaching out to others of similar mind, whether individuals, or movements such as the Family of Jesus in China or the Kibbutzim in Palestine. The principal object in sending Brothers to North America is to carry their message that it is possible to live in complete brotherhood, that no one should be turned away who is seeking earnestly, that all men on earth can and should be living this same life.

The Bruderhof and the way of life it represents challenged and stirred me. Unfortunately most of the community's energy has to go into the struggle for survival. This is a result of its twofold move and the conditions of life in Paraguay. The great heat in summer, occasional long droughts, insect pests, and dangers to health, as well as political upheavals, inefficiency and corruption, and lack of capital for economic development are great handicaps. It is to be hoped that the effort to remedy this last will make up for some of the other difficulties and help the community really to develop as it should be able to. Despite its problems, however, the community stands as a witness to a way of life.

Faith and Practice

In matters of faith and practice in the community, the essential thing is that one should "love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength" and "thy neighbor as thyself." This they are able to do in a way that those who live outside cannot. Secondary things do not require analysis, although of course there is always the danger that they might become primary, especially in an isolated community. It is easy for any group to

come to feel that it has the whole truth, but this should be less of a problem than it might be, in a community that is constantly seeking guidance.

One thing that many moderns find it hard to understand is the community's belief about the character and function of the sexes, which is widely different from that of current society since the "emancipation" of women. The Society feels that women should not be poured into the mold of men but that they have their own character and contribution, something not less but definitely other. This follows from a feeling not that they are less intelligent than men but that they have a power of direct perception and feeling, while men have greater ability to initiate action. Thus their activity is generally different, although they have in the past taken part in work connected with the publication of books and the Bruderhof magazine, *The Plough*, and now have responsible administrative positions, and are appointed to represent the community at conferences or in travel where it is feasible. Just now they are too much occupied with the growing number of children to do the light gardening that they used to enjoy. They take full part in discussions and essential decisions, but are spared some of the difficulties, whether in technical outdoor work or in contacts with the world outside. No woman has so far been chosen as one of the Dieners (Servant), the most responsible position, but one reason for this is that in such a non-conformist group there is always danger of arrest or attack, particularly in a country subject to civil strife. On the other hand, single women feel happy to be spared some of the material problems with which they previously struggled, and find strength in the fellowship of the group. They are not spared a full sharing in all major problems, including financial and policy discussions.

Pledge for Life

Some of the practices differ greatly from those I have known as a Friend. After going through a period as a novice and coming to an agreement with the community that he is fitted to be a member, the person joining makes a solemn promise to remain for life. This is considered to be something as natural as the marriage promise, and more important, since it is a promise to God. Hence one would stay in the community even if the partner should leave. Entrance to the community is accompanied by baptism. To the Brothers this is not a sacrament in the usual sense, but a symbol, like a milestone, marking a point in spiritual development.

At Easter there is a special "meal of remembrance" to which the members come after clearing themselves with others and with God. There are "love-meals" in remembrance of someone who has died or of some other moving event, when a more festive meal is eaten, with flowers and candles to decorate, all of it very simple. These meals are an expression of unity and fellowship. They are sacramental only as the two daily meals in common are a sacrament, starting as they do with a song followed by silence and then the reading of a book or letters from abroad, or a talk by one of the group.

When a new baby is to be presented to the community, it is laid

(*Continued on page 32*)

Chambers, God, and the Communists

By A. J. MUSTE

JUST BEFORE BEGINNING to write this "full-dress revew" of Whittaker Chambers' *Witness,** which the editor asked me to do, I came across Paul Hutchinson's review in the June 11, 1952, *Christian Century*. Its opening and closing sentences state so exactly my own feelings after reading this 800-page book that I need to quote them. When he reflected upon what it would involve to write this review, Paul Hutchinson says he found himself thinking: "Only God knows enough to review this book." He closes with the admonition, which I heartily support: "You'd better not miss the Chambers book. And you'd better not be satisfied with the magazine version"—referring to the much-abbreviated serialization that appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

The book is, first of all, a thriller. The two chapters entitled "The Hiss Case" are a thriller in the literal detective story sense of the term. The hundred pages about Chambers' childhood—his insane grandmother who lived in their home, his brother who committed suicide, his parents who lived apart a good deal of the time—constitute a thriller in the tradition of a horror tale. And the description of the working of the Communist underground rivals the tales of political

* *Witness*, by Whittaker Chambers, Random House, 1952. 800 pp. $5.

Late in the spring there came to the editor's desk a review copy of Whittaker Chambers' book Witness. *Despite the ballyhoo about it, none of us expected it to be much more than the usual repentant ex-Communist's attempt to cash in on his repentance. A quick reading changed our minds, drastically, about the book and about Chambers himself.* Witness, *we felt, was an important book, a story of a man and his times deeply moving, deeply disturbing, profoundly significant. Moreover, in spite of the spate of reviews about the book, we felt that there were important things that had not been said about it, and that we had available the man who could say them better than anyone else.*

The result is this—rather belated—review by A. J. Muste. Cut unmercifully to little more than half its original length, it is still overlong for the limited space of FELLOWSHIP, *and so has to be divided between two issues. Even so, we believe it says things that should be said in spite of the difficulties of saying them, and we urge you to read both the book and the full review.*

The Editors

conspiracy that once made E. Phillips Oppenheim famous.

The book has a special fascination for one who, like myself, was once a part of the Marxist-Leninist movement and who had some contact with many of the individuals who figure in Chambers' account. (A hasty check I made of the index turned up about sixty such names. Some of them are people in the Government, such as Justice Frankfurter and Francis B. Sayre, under whom Alger Hiss worked at one time in the State Department. Some of them are pacifists or former pacifists, since before her marriage Chambers' wife worked as Esther Shemitz on the editorial staff of *The World Tomorrow*, predecessor of Fellowship. In this context our own Nevin Sayre's name comes into the picture.)*

One of the reviewers of the Chambers book in *The Saturday Review of Literature* characterizes it as "one of the longest works of fiction of the year." So far as concerns activities and people about which or whom I have some first-hand knowledge and ability to judge, the verdict of this reviewer is preposterous. In all these sections of the book Chambers has written a reliable, illuminating and remarkably objective account. It is impossible for me to believe that the book as a whole is not in the main reliable in its account of what happened.

An Unusual Name

I do not recall when I first encountered the unusual name of Alger Hiss, but when the "Hiss Case" first broke I found myself not surprised. Though I have no recollection that anyone ever told me this, I had a distinct recollection that in the non-Stalinist radical circles in which I once moved Alger Hiss had been regarded as a "Stalinist." The term, of course, could have meant any one of a number of things: that the individual in question was a CP member, or a conscious or intentional "fellow-traveler," or simply one who agreed with the CP at a number of points, or whom the CP was using in some way without his intending it or being aware of it. This categorization of individuals as belonging to this or that camp was part of the equipment of every participant in left-wing activities, and events have proved that the non-Stalinist radicals were not often mistaken in their judgments. This is not, however, evidence in a court of law and should not be taken for more than it is worth.

The record, however, shows conclusively that Alger Hiss either lied or for some unaccountable reason failed to offer a straightforward and plausible explanation of a number of very important points, all of which appeared susceptible of simple explanation if there were nothing to hide or—possibly—someone to be shielded. Chambers' ac-

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* Since this article may come to the attention of people who are not familiar, as are most FOR members, with my background, I should probably state here that I was never a member of the Communist Party, though for a couple of years in the early 'thirties I had considerable experience in united front activities in which the CP was also involved. I was, for example, chairman of the Resolutions Committee at the first convention of the League Against War and Fascism. In the middle 'thirties I was for a couple of years prominently active in the Trotzkyist organization. Throughout this period I was involved in political and strike activities but never in anything of a conspiratorial nature. During this time I was out of FOR, for I never believed that communism and pacifism could mix. Similarly the occasional FOR member who turned Communist cut loose from FOR. In 1936 I returned to the Christian faith, pacifism, and membership in FOR.

count of these same items, on the other hand, stood up under extremely meticulous and often bitter grilling. Even if the much-discussed typewriter and pumpkin are left out of account, many such items remain, and each reader can arrive at his own verdict about them.

Nature of Communism

More important to this review are several points having to do not primarily with such detailed facts or incidents, but with analysis and political interpretation, and on some of these I find myself essentially in agreement with Chambers. Of the Communist Party, for example, Chambers says: "The CP exists for the specific purpose of overthrowing the Government, at the opportune time, by any and all means, and each of its members, by the fact that he is a member, is dedicated to this purpose."

I regard this as substantially accurate, though this is not to say that every member of the Party in this country through the years of its existence has been fully conscious of this. Nor does it mean that all or most of them are engaged in activity that can be called conspiratorial or subversive in a strict sense. In fact, as Chambers points out, when Communists are drawn into some special "underground" agency they are no longer permitted to function as members of the public Party.

Issue of Liberty

The problem raised in connection with the Smith Act and the prosecutions under it therefore still remains: namely, whether the ordinary Party activities or even those of Party leaders constitute a "clear and present danger" to the existence of the government. Likewise the problem remains as to what is the best way to protect civil liberties and to maintain a democratic society when a political party is in existence that does not in principle believe in civil liberties and that does believe that the existing regime in a country must be broken up and that eventually this will involve violence. Violent suppression when there has been no "overt action" may in such a case constitute a cure that is worse than the disease. Nevertheless, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the force with which we are dealing, and the CP *is* the sort of political force that Whittaker Chambers has described in the above quotation.

Chambers goes farther than this, however, and presents evidence that the Communist movement engages in espionage, terrorism, assassination and, when it serves its purpose, war. Early in his book he makes the penetrating observation: "The Communist is a new type of man in history—the thinking commando." In the same context he observes: "The CP, despite occasional pious statements to the contrary, is a terrorist organization. Its disclaimers are for the record. But its record of kidnappings, assassinations and murders makes the actions of the old Terror Brigade of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party look merely romantic."

Even on his own showing as to the division of labor between "underground" and other activities in the Communist movement, Chambers here, it seems to me, conveys a misleading impression by using the term "Communist Party." His statement undoubtedly will help to spread the idea that the ordinary members of the Party in this and

other countries, not to mention its leaders who have been convicted or are now on trial under the Smith Act, have been devoting themselves to kidnappings and assassinations. No evidence to sustain that contention has been produced in court. It is simply not true. Chambers himself does not explicitly seek to prove that it is. But if we speak of the Communist or Stalinist movement as a whole, including its various legal and illegal instrumentalities, it is correct to say that it is an agency for waging war (class war), and that it does not scruple to use all of the criminal means to which men and organizations that turn to war resort. We do not have to rely on Whittaker Chambers, solely or primarily, to substantiate this. He does not, for example, cite one instance of espionage or other such activity from which Russia or the Communist movement stood to gain one one-hundredth of the advantage represented by Klaus Fuchs' transmission of atomic weapons secrets.

Necessary Honesty

It is difficult to discuss such things without adding something to the hysteria that already prevails in this country. But the ostrich technique is not an indication of political maturity or of a spiritual state of grace. I shudder, frankly, at what I believe is the serious underestimation of the character and the power of communism that is implied by a good many current appeals that we should "negotiate" a "peace" with it. Similarly deplorable, I feel, is the tendency of even some pacifists to consider it better to keep silence about forced labor in Russia, the activities of Soviet secret police, and so on. The conviction that there is that of God in every man and that we must strive to bring that "good seed" to fruition does not imply that there is no trace of the satanic in men or that we should abet or condone their violence, deceit, and cruelty, in whatever land or in whatever movement they may appear. The injunction to love our enemies is pointless unless there are real, dangerous and powerful enemies. Even the publicans love those that love them.

By this time the reader may have reached the conclusion that I am "going along" with Whittaker Chambers all the way. This is far from being the case. I am convinced by the reading of *Witness* —and I needed to be convinced— that Chambers has told many truths and that he has made a genuine effort to be truthful throughout. Nevertheless, some very grave doubts remain. Some of these have to do with his political analysis and his competence as a guide in the political struggle against communism. Another set of doubts has to do with what I feel to be the state of Chambers' soul and with his competence as a guide in the spiritual struggle against communism.

Politically, I dissent from Chambers' presentation at three crucial points. In the first place, I think he greatly exaggerates the influence exerted by Communists and fellow-travelers in the New Deal domestic agencies, in the labor movement, and on the foreign policy of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. Certainly there were many Communists and their sympathizers in all kinds of circles, governmental or private. That would include publishing houses, newspapers, magazines, college faculties—nearly

everywhere except in the churches, where there were not many, and the pacifist organizations where there were virtually none. There are, or were, people who grossly underestimated the extent of this Communist penetration. And I think the tendency on the part of many liberals a few years ago to pooh-pooh the whole thing and say that there were no Communists and what did it matter anyway, contributed to the frightful hysteria that now prevails. Because of this the Hiss case made a much more terrific impact than it might otherwise have done; if those who had said there were *no* Communists or "party-liners" had been dupes or liars, did it not stand to reason, people concluded, that every New Dealer *might* be a party-liner and that anybody who defended a New Dealer was a dupe or liar?

How Much Influence?

But it is one thing to prove that there were Communists in the government or a union, and that in some important respects the organization followed the same "line" as those people. It is an entirely different thing to prove that these persons were responsible for this policy and that—inferentially—the organization would have pursued a decidedly different course but for this infiltration. Chambers proves the first and then proceeds as if no further evidence were necessary to prove the second.

Alger Hiss was at Yalta; there were some pro-Communists in the State Department: as a result of this China went Communist and the Soviet Union achieved a dominant power position in the postwar world. If this is a caricature of Chambers' political analysis, it is one of those caricatures that exactly hit off the salient features of the original!

There is little if any convincing evidence that known pro-Communists actually did exercise influence on the thinking of top policy makers such as Roosevelt, Marshall, and others like them. Even if they had, to ascribe the decisive factor in determining the shape of the postwar world to CP infiltration in the U.S. government is to ignore such things as the popular revolutions against white domination now taking place in the Orient, which would be occurring if Russia did not exist. It is to ignore the fact that it was U.S. aid to Russia during the war and the U.S. role in destroying Germany and Japan that created the power vacuums in Europe and Asia that placed the Russian regime in its present dominant position.

All Favored It

Who among the recent vociferous critics of Administration policy was opposed to the Russian alliance during the war? Who among them would then have proposed fighting the war without Russian aid? Pro-Communists in the Administration certainly wanted Russian influence in central and eastern Europe accepted after the war, but who among the leaders in this country would have been ready to risk war in 1945-7 in order to drive Russian troops out of Germany and Poland? Who could have persuaded the American people to fight Russia after the surrender of Germany and Japan? So far as the United States is concerned, it is more accurate to say that Communists and pro-Communists were able to penetrate into the government in considerable numbers because the government was following certain policies that

in the main had strong support among the people—notably the Russian alliance—than it is to say that it was Communist infiltration that led to the adoption of these policies.

All this has a bearing upon the interpretation to be put on the behavior of certain individuals from Franklin Roosevelt down. It seems to be demonstrably true that Chambers went to A. A. Berle, then in the State Department, as early as 1939, with the accusation that Alger Hiss was a Communist and a member of an "underground apparatus" and that Berle took the matter to Roosevelt, who laughed it off. At later dates Walter Winchell and William C. Bullitt took the report about Hiss and other government employes to Roosevelt and again nothing, so far as appears in the record, was done. It is strongly hinted that there is something pretty sinister about this.

Government Policy

No one who knows me will suspect me of being an FDR fan, but I submit that people should try to see such happenings in the context in which they actually occurred and not from the vantage point of 1952. It is possible that Roosevelt had many terrible matters on his mind when Berle went to him. He may even have been correct in deciding that the Hiss business, even if the charges were true, was a minor matter and should wait. Or he may have reasoned that with Russia badly needed as an ally, more embarrassment than advantage would come from the possible eruption at that time of a "scandal" about CP penetration into government jobs. He may for some reason have felt certain that in any event things were essentially under control and that no great damage could be done. If so, according to Whittaker Chambers' own estimate, Roosevelt guessed right or really knew the answer. For in spite of the way in which the thing has been blown up by many people, including Chambers, he himself concludes "that political espionage was a magnificent waste of time and effort" since "the secrets of foreign offices are notoriously over-rated!"

To cite another instance of how Chambers' conspiracy-complex carries him away, though a more realistic compartment of his mind supplies him with a pretty sound knowledge of the situation, he speculates, after Hiss flatly denies ever having known him, how Hiss could "suppose that he could possibly get away with" this denial and escape conviction. He describes how he gradually learned of Hiss' powerful connections "which cut across all party lines and ran from the Supreme Court to the Religious Society of Friends," and so on. The influence of Communists or sympathizers in high places is recounted or hinted at. The reader almost feels his flesh creep—undoubtedly many readers actually have shuddered—at the suggestion evoked that the Republic is tottering on the brink because sinister influences make it next to impossible to bring a known Communist spy to trial in the United States. Then he introduces one of his wonderfully perspicacious sentences and tells how Alger Hiss "had used his career, and in particular his identification with the cause of peace through his part in organizing the United Nations, to put down roots that made him one with the matted forest floor of America's upper class, enlightened middle class, liberal and

official life. *His roots could not be disturbed without disturbing all the roots on all sides of him.*"

Hard to Believe

Could anything be clearer and simpler than that? Alger Hiss was a fairly important instrument, if not an architect, of certain policies such as "the war for democracy against nazism," the "good" United Nations peace, and so on—bi-partisan policies to which the great majority of the American people gave their support. Furthermore, he had an immense acquaintance among the opinion-making individuals and groups in the nation. Naturally, they found it hard to believe that he might somehow have been involved in espionage. Naturally, they had to be shown, and naturally, not for sinister reasons, they were suspicious of a self-confessed former Communist and Soviet agent. True that it was for them a traumatic experience to confront the possibility of betrayal by one with whom they had consorted and who was something of a symbol of a peace policy and of a rising generation on whose wisdom and integrity the hopes of the future rested! True also that in disturbing Alger Hiss' roots, their roots were disturbed. They sensed at once the use that would be made of the exposure and conviction of Hiss, if these occurred, to discredit not Hiss alone, but every one of the ideas and policies for which they, as well as he, had stood. Chambers suggests that Truman's remark that "the Hiss case was a red herring" also has deeply "sinister" implications. It may well be that it was one of the President's irresponsible off-the-cuff quips. But the idea that Harry Truman would shield a known Russian agent or permit anyone in his administration to be remiss about investigating the presence of such agents in the government is so preposterous that no responsible person would suggest it unless he had specific proof to back up the charge. In the deeper sense, Truman was perfectly right that the Hiss Case was being *used* in the 1948 election campaign as a "red herring"—i.e., not as a means for securing an objective consideration of the problems before the nation but as a means for befogging them.

Where Is Chambers?

This brings us to the concluding observation in this section on the political significance of Chambers and his book. Where does Chambers now line up? Behind what forces does he marshal the not inconsiderable weight of his book and himself?

First, he is aligned with those who hold that the important means for combating communism are ferreting out Communist conspirators in the United States, suppressing the Communist Party, and being ready for war against the Communist bloc countries. For although Whittaker Chambers is a Quaker, he is definitely the "fighting" sort. This is another point at which the ambivalent nature of his mental processes and his addiction to thinking in militaristic and conspiratorial terms are exemplified. He says some profound, and in my view, essentially correct things about the nature of communism. He traces the evil in it to a secular, materialistic and atheistic world-view. He even recognizes that these things are a characteristic of our age and of American culture. But when it comes to the question of dealing with the evil, then he sees

it embodied in Russia and its satellites who are arrayed against the good embodied in the United States and the "American way of life," so that the way to overcome the evil is essentially by violence, by terror against Communists within and, if necessary, war against the Communists without. No real consideration is given to dealing with the evil in ourselves, or on the political, economic, cultural and spiritual level!

Secondly, Chambers stands with those to whom the New Deal and socialism are synonymous with communism. "The simple fact is," Chambers declares toward the end of the book, "that when I took up my little sling and aimed at communism, I also hit something else. What I hit was the forces of that great socialist revolution which, in the name of liberalism, spasmodically, incompletely, somewhat formlessly, but always in the same direction, has been inching its ice cap over the nation for two decades. This is not a charge. . . . It is a statement of fact that need startle no one who has voted for that revolution in whole or in part, and, consciously or unconsciously, a majority of the nation has so voted for years."

I have myself come to be troubled by the collectivist and centralizing trends of our age, but when one develops such a concern, he must have some idea of a truly freer, less regimented society and how it might be achieved. Otherwise, as contemporary history has demonstrated and political logic suggests, in turning away from what might be called the collectivism of the Left he will find himself embracing a collectivism of the Right, i.e., Fascism. That is what those who simplistically put communism, socialism, the New Deal and liberalism into one pigeonhole end up with. That is certainly the case with those—and Chambers is one of them—who do not envisage a break with war, since the war system is a terrific force for centralization and regimentation. It is certain that one will look in vain in his book for any attack upon the reactionary figures of our time, including Senators McCarthy and McCarran.

To cite two other instances that seem to me to reveal where Whittaker Chambers stands and whither he is tending, in telling about the famous investigation of the munitions industry by Senator Gerald P. Nye, whom Alger Hiss served as counsel in that investigation, Chambers says: "The penetration of the U. S. Government by the Communist Party coincided with a *mood in the nation which lightheartedly baited the men who manufactured the armaments indispensable to its defense as 'Merchants of Death'* . . . that disastrous mood!"

Referring at the very end of the book to the fear some people have that "the F.B.I. is a potentially dangerous secret police," Chambers' tendency to think of life and politics in terms of conspiracy and counter-conspiracy crops up again and he says: "I smile, suspecting that, in general, such fears measure the F.B.I.'s effectiveness in the nation's interest. For *how can those men be dangerous who, as at present headed and organized, are, in fact, the nation itself, performing its self-protective function?*"

There was a time when I would have "explained" the contradictions in Chambers' political pronouncements as evidences of insincerity. After reading his book, I am un-

able to do that. I am convinced that he is sincere. As I have tried to show, I do not think this makes him a less unreliable or less dangerous political guide. It raises extremely interesting and difficult questions about Chambers' spiritual state and his reliability as a prophet of the Lord and spiritual guide, such as, at least by inference, he claims to be. To this problem we must, finally, address ourselves.

(To be concluded in September FELLOWSHIP.)

In the Museum

Can it be in the chromosomes?
I never shared with him the tomes
I've read or thoughts on war and death.
Yet gazing long with quiet breath
At the soldier dolls in museum case,
My five year old lifts tortured face—
"They all have guns!" "Of course they do."
"But why?" "They have to shoot." "At who?"
"Oh . . . other men." I stammer here.
"And will they die?" "Some will." I steer
Him to another nook, of ships
And sailors gathering way. His lips
Still brood upon the ones behind—
"I don't like soldiers." Now his mind
Takes in the new display. "Are those
Men shooting people too?" He knows,
And without waiting for my "Yes,"
Has judged them all. He's pitiless.
"I don't like sailors." "Dear . . ." What will
I tell him? "They don't like to kill.
They're made to by the government."
The case is little different.
"Then governments I don't like either."
Our thoughts are brooding, child and mother.

—Charlotte E. Keyes

Strength for These Days

There Is a Cohering Force

By RICHARD B. GREGG

ALL MY CONSCIOUS LIFE in its totality and its details is based on my assumption that I exist. I make a still deeper assumption, namely, that there is a cohering force or principle that unifies all the forces and phenomena of the exterior world of the senses and also the inner, intangible world of thought and feeling. That is the deepest, most enduring and most important of all my assumptions. For me, everything rests on that. Neither of these assumptions can be proven by logic or by scientific method. They lie behind or are the beginning of all logic, consciousness, and perception.

As a human being, I have to make assumptions, because human minds have to start with something. Our minds cannot do without foundations and beginnings. Some assumptions are conscious, but most are unconscious, yet they can be discovered and dragged up to light. Faith is a conscious recognition and acceptance of my basic assumption. I rest my life *on* my absolute assumption.

The human mind has to believe in or on something greater or more enduring than itself. If we give up our basic assumption or if, misled by shallow science, we forget that the nature of our minds compels us to make assumptions, as the majority of leaders of Western men have done in regard to their former belief in God, then inevitably we find ourselves putting our faith in some power that we make supreme, such as the State, science, evolution, a leader, or what-have-you. As between various possible assumptions I choose that which gives most significance to life and the universe. So I believe in an all-embracing unity.

The name of it makes no difference. The words God and Spirit are vague, ambiguous and much abused. "The word 'God'," as Santayana once said, "is a floating literary symbol . . . without fixed indicative force and admits any sense which its concept in any mind may happen to give it." Well, that does not bother me. Even mathematics, the most rigorous of all thinking, begins with some words that are undefined or undefinable except by circular definition that means nothing. And no two human minds could think in exactly the same way of that which includes all things and yet transcends them all. Such a concept cannot be adequately or definitely described. So, with a clear conscience, I name my absolute assumption God or Spirit. In the country where I live, those names still carry more meaning than such equally valid terms as Brahma, Atman, Tao, Nirvana, or even First Principle.

THIS unity, because it is a cohering

principle, is inherent in everything and every person. It also is greater than anything or any person or the sum of them all. It includes yet transcends and dwells in the details and in the whole universe. Modern physics shows that the quanta of energy in matter are governed by something beyond space and time, or that space and time do not apply to the phenomena of the elements of matter. If so, that which includes *all* must likewise transcend space and time. In my thinking, that which transcends time is eternity; that which transcends space is infinity. God and the Spirit are eternal, infinite, immanent and transcendent. Spirit has no beginning, no end, and no parts. It is Eternal Now and Here, as well as always and everywhere.

The temporal essence or pattern of a person is his soul; his eternal essence is Spirit. Not *his* spirit, for spirit is not individual and cut up into separate pieces; it is universal and one. Spirit is, so to say, the universal soul of each and every soul. So my innermost essence is the universal Spirit, and that is eternal. My soul, my individual, intangible pattern, may outlast my body, but since it had a beginning, it is temporal and must eventually end, maybe ages hence, but sometime. I need have no fear, however, for my innermost essence is eternal and cannot be injured or slain.

JUST as spirit includes and yet transcends time and space, so also it includes and yet transcends darkness and light, cold and heat, north and south, motion and rest, fear and hope, victory and defeat, ugliness and beauty, evil and good, and all the other pairs of opposites that make up our world. To ask why God permits so much evil, or how can God be loving and just and yet allow so much suffering, is to try to impose our modes of thought and feeling on God and to ask the universe and our minds to be made differently from what they are. You cannot have human values and perceptions and order without contrasting extremes. God is not adequately describable in limited human words. If you assume that God is a person, He is not good, nor bad, nor a mixture of good and bad, any more than He is black or white or a mixture of those two colors. In a sense, God includes both good and evil, but in a deeper sense He is neither, but transcends them both. Everyone will admit that there is energy in both evil and good. William Blake said that energy is divine. If so, then God is "in" evil as well as "in" good. A paradox maybe, but one has to use paradox in trying to understand the realm of spirit, for words and logic are limited, but spirit is limitless. Our words are made for use in the world of space and time. When we try to talk of a realm that transcends space and time we are reduced to metaphors and paradoxes.

But what are we to do about all the dreadful evil in the world, that threatens to destroy all mankind? Well, even if it did, God would still exist; our very essence is indestructible. Or even if Western civilization were destroyed and most of its peoples, there would still be the colored races and their civilizations. As all the founders of great religions were members of colored races, God seems to have relied pretty heavily on that branch of the human family to set things right.

STILL, there remain vast moral

problems for us all. All the great religions teach that the way to overcome evil is not by fighting it on its own plane, nor even by being merely "do-gooders," as is clearly stated in I Corinthians 13. The ding-dong, see-saw struggle on that level is historically endless and hopeless. The way to conquer evil and injustice is to transcend them, to lift the struggle up to a higher level by means of doing as you would be done by, refusing to condemn ("judge not"), by forgiving the wrong-doer, by loving your enemy, by nonviolence, by humility, by equanimity, by not seeking the fruit of works, by adhering to truth, by self-transcendence, no matter what the cost. That was taught by Buddha, Krishna, Christ, and other great founders of religions. Modern psychiatry agrees. By transcending the pairs of opposites one mounts into the realm of spirit and overcomes the world, including its evil. Such ways of dealing with evil have been used by wise people in all lands and all ages. If in these dark days we are doubtful of the effectiveness of such methods, let's be scientific and experiment with them. Gandhi called his autobiography "My Experiments with Truth." That evil now seems greater and more rampant than it used to be is due, I think, to mistaken assumptions of modern man, to lack of belief in the reality and power of spirit, to being more interested in the outer world and its powers than in the inner world, and to prolonged attempts to fight evil on its own plane instead of trying to transcend it.

Dictators do not trouble me too badly. They cannot change the nervous structure of mankind. Man is the only animal in which the nerves that control the voluntary muscles do not end in the lower brain but come clear up to the fore-brain, the cortex, where we do our thinking. Though the control of action by thought is imperfect, yet that control cannot be suppressed. Man, by his nervous structure, is compelled to test his acts and the acts of others by his thoughts, and he has to observe and think. He has to test things by his ideas of truth. He may be browbeaten by a dictatorship for a few years, but because of his nervous structure he eventually *has* to search for truth. Literacy and the use of printing stimulates and widens thought. So dictators have a hard struggle and either go under or have to yield up power.

Finally, I am encouraged by my belief that because Spirit dwells in everyone, some people are capable of realizing or uniting with God. To attain that requires rising above the pairs of opposites and giving up and transcending the individual self, but it can be done in this body, here and now. The price is considerable, but not impossible. Not many are qualified by nature and willing to pay the price. But that is also true of such people as nuclear physicists and great mathematicians, yet there are enough of those two kinds of people to influence profoundly the course of events in technology, industry, navigation, aeronautics, education, politics and other realms. The result of attaining unity with God is eternal life, realized *now*. "Now is the day of salvation." Eternal life is "life more abundant," peaceful and joyous. I prefer this belief to the old-fashioned concept of a heaven attainable only in the future, though the latter may be true for many.

THE SENATOR IS DISTURBED

"I shall not cast my vote without disquiet," said Senator Herbert H. Lehman, then read into the Congressional Record his concern about the Japanese Peace Treaty.

I HAVE NOT PARTICIPATED thus far in the debate on these historic treaties—the treaty of peace with Japan and the collateral Pacific security treaties. I have listened carefully to the debate and have read the reports of the distinguished committee which has studied and presented these treaties to us.

We are indeed taking historic steps today. The Foreign Relations Committee has unanimously advised, as have the leaders of our Government, that these steps are the right steps and that these treaties represent a constructive expression of our national policy in the Far East.

I am ready to accept these views. I am ready to vote for these treaties. I am certainly ready to vote against what I consider ill-advised and ill-conceived reservations whose effect in Asia, and in the rest of the world, would be in my opinion most unfortunate and even disastrous.

But I shall not cast my vote without disquiet. I have a feeling that we are determining a permanent policy with regard to Japan on the basis of what may be a temporary situation in the Far East. At least I pray that it may be temporary.

Yet I know of no specific alternative. Certainly we must oppose the aggressive and imperialistic spread of communism. Certainly Japan must be defended against aggression. But I am aware that there are many men of good will who have studied the Far Eastern question who think that the re-armament of Japan at this time is a mistake. There are those who think that the policy reflected in some aspects of the security treaty with Japan will hurt as much as help the cause of peace, security, and democracy in the Pacific. They feel that economic recovery and democratic development in Japan may seriously suffer as a result of these treaty provisions.

I would like at this point to insert in the *Record* correspondence I have had with Mr. E. Raymond Wilson, executive secretary of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, and with Mr. Rhoads Murphey, associate secretary of that fine Quaker organization. I do not agree with all the observations, and certainly not with all the conclusions set forth by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Murphey, but I think there is food for thought in those observations and conclusions. We may well read these views with profit.

February 7, 1952

Dear Senator Lehman:

I have just received from three women members of the Upper House of the Japanese Diet an appeal addressed to the United States Senators regarding the Japanese Peace Treaty and the security

treaty with Japan. . . . This letter points up the tragedy of the rearmament of a country against which the United States fought such a bitter war to overthrow Japanese militarism.

I know one of these Japanese Senators personally and believe this appeal comes not only from their hearts, but represents the sentiment of many, many people in Japan.

Enclosed is a statement that came this week from the peace committee of the Japan Yearly Meeting of Friends, also opposing Japanese rearmament.

Sincerely yours,

E. Raymond Wilson

Tokyo, Japan,
January 8, 1952

We, the members of various women's organizations of Japan, appealed twice to Mr. John Foster Dulles, concerning the peace treaty and security treaty draft with which he was sent to Japan.

We are extremely anxious that our peace treaty should be such as would enable us to observe faithfully the principle of absolute pacifism clearly expressed in our Constitution. However, the peace treaty signed at San Francisco is quite contrary to our ardent hope and we are greatly disappointed. It is true that the representatives of the Japanese Government signed the two treaties and the Diet gave consent to the Cabinet to ratify these treaties by a majority vote, but it must be borne in mind that over one-third of the House of Councilors opposed the security treaty; 147 for and 78 against. Moreover, the present Government and the Diet members were elected three years ago and cannot be said to represent the true will of the nation in general concerning the two treaties.

When Mr. Dulles visited Japan recently the press reported his arrival as if the nation as a whole welcomed him with deep gratitude; but this welcome (build up) seemed largely a diplomatic gesture of the political and business circles and also of the rightists who are now regaining power, while on the contrary the majority of the people, especially the women and the youth, has met this occasion with a deep sense of anxiety, uncertainty, and even heartbreak.

A recent public poll on the opinions of 8,932 students of 19 colleges in Tokyo showed the following results:

Opinion on	Yes (pct.)	No (pct.)
The peace treaty	24.9	66.2
The security treaty	16.4	75.3
Rearmament of Japan ...	12.2	81.0

(Figures above quoted are from Educational Report, November 30, 1951, issued daily by the Institution of Educational Research.)

We, the women of Japan, do not oppose the police reserves for internal security, but cannot agree to the proposal of rearming Japan which contradicts the guiding principle of the Japanese Constitution. We are determined never again to send our sons and husbands to the battlefields.

The Japanese people understand that Article IX of our Constitution which reads "Japan forever forsakes war: the Japanese nation does not possess an army, navy, air force, or any other fighting force" was originally directed by the United States of America and her occupation authorities in Japan. Now, contrary to their belief, the people in this country have the impression that according to the two

treaties signed in San Francisco, the same United States authorities are demanding the rearmament of Japan.

These facts can create a general mistrust on the part of the Japanese toward the sincerity of America and her leaders; we, therefore, feel it is our duty to express our profound dissatisfaction as we eagerly wish to see a lasting friendship established between the United States and Japan. . . .

(Mrs. Dr.) Tomiko W. Kora,
(Mrs.) Michiko Fujiwara,
(Mrs.) Naoko Takata,
Members of the Upper House of the Japanese Diet
Representing Japan Women's Disarmament Committee

Our Peace Testimony Restated

We, the members of the peace committee of the Japan Yearly Meeting of Friends, issued in February this year our peace testimony.

In view of the gravity of the situation brought about by the peace treaty and the security pact between Japan and the United States of America, we hereby reaffirm our stand that we do not seek security in the armament of any nation or group of nations, wholly trusting in the security of disarmament and good will.

Our opposition to war is absolute and without exception and our abandonment of arms means complete disarmament. Herein lies our belief in God and our love and trust in all mankind as brothers in each of whom resides the seed of God. We believe that God, the Father of all mankind, does not allow us to seek for the security and happiness for ourselves or for our nation by taking the lives of others or by forcing sacrifice on other nations through the act of war.

Standing on the conviction stated above, we remind ourselves of the lofty mission resting on us to maintain intact the Constitution of Japan pledged to the principle of total disarmament whereby we must break at least in the Far East the world-wide vicious circle of unbelief, fear, armament and war.

The peace treaty for Japan and the security pact between Japan and the United States of America signed at San Francisco on September 8 are said to be treaties of generosity and reconciliation, and yet by turning Japan into a military base, having certain nations as potential enemies and by turning plowshares into swords instead of turning swords into plowshares and requiring, in effect, the people of Japan to take up those swords these treaties entail the loss on the part of Japan of her position of neutrality and obstruct thereby the road to world disarmament commencing with a disarmament Constitution.

For these reasons, we declare hereby our opposition to the ratification of these treaties.

Further, we wish to express our unchanging faith in our mission as Christians to continue our efforts for constructive peace. It shall be our constant endeavor, even after their ratification, to see that the Government and the people of Japan cooperate, on the basis of friendship and mutual understanding, with all nations of the world regardless of whether they are signatories or not of the treaties.

Our plea is to cut the vicious circle of war through prayer and all acts allowed to man, and to

generate a circle of peace.

We would not hate but love, we would not take but give, we would not kill but give life, whatever be the price we must pay for these things. This is the only way open to us which we will follow without ever deviating from it. . . .

Tamon Mayeda
Iwao Ayusawa
Tokuya Azumi
Tano Jodai
Masahiko Sekiya
Toyotaro Takemura
Kiyoshi Ukaji
November 11, 1951

February 15, 1952

Dear Mr. Wilson:

I read your letter of February 7 about the Japanese treaty with much interest. I also read the appeal signed by the three members of the Japanese Senate. Of course, I sympathize with their point of view. I might even say that I share it. I, too, feel a great disquiet about some aspects of the Security Pact with Japan. It certainly makes me uncomfortable to realize that we who fought against Japanese militarism and who applauded the anti-war provision in the Japanese Constitution should now be encouraging Japanese rearmament.

Nevertheless, there are certain hard realities in the world situation that have inclined our responsible leaders in the field of foreign policy to urge and support such a course. While having a sense of disquiet about this development, I feel that I must accept the wisdom and judgment of our military and diplomatic leaders in this regard unless and until it can be clearly shown that the rearmament of Japan is not necessary to halt Communist aggression and to create conditions of security in the Far East.

In any event, thank you for writing me and for sending me this very interesting material.

Very sincerely yours,

Herbert H. Lehman

February 27, 1952

Dear Senator Lehman:

Raymond Wilson has passed on to me your letter of February 15 since I shall be dealing with Far Eastern matters at the Friends Committee. I spent four years in the East during the war, and am now a Professor of Far Eastern Affairs.

Of course the issue of Japan's rearmament is a complex one, and I appreciate your sincere attempts to make a wise decision about it. I should like to encourage you to make your own judgment on the matter rather than accepting the judgments of military and diplomatic leaders as you suggest. For one thing, it seems to me that the Congress has an obligation to make such basic decisions on behalf of the American people quite apart from the recommendations of experts and non-elected officials. And, for another, I do not think it could be said that the record of our military and diplomatic leaders has been good in matters of Far Eastern policy. . . .

Far from checking the spread of communism in the East or building friendship and support for the United States there, our policies have had precisely the opposite effect. Most Asians distrust and fear us, although they were once our firm friends. They can become so again if we can shape our policies in accordance with Asia's new situation instead of in accordance with the strategy of the cold

war. . . . The pattern of revolution in the East has been an economic and a nationalistic one, not a matter of force. Such ideas cannot be stopped by bullets, but only by building a sound economy and by respecting genuine nationalist movements. It was on those two points that our policy in China so notably failed, and I believe the danger of similar failure in Japan is equally great if we urge rearmament on Japan. Rearmament would permanently shelve the economic developments that must take place in Japan, with its marginal position, if that country is to be secure from the threat of communism. It would further harden the hearts of all Asians against us, and I am personally convinced would also impress most of the Japanese people as unwanted American pressure that would be bitterly resented. . . .

You say that you must accept the judgment of our military and diplomatic leaders until it can be clearly shown that the rearmament of Japan is not necessary to halt Communist aggression and to create conditions of security in the Far East. Solely on the basis of our past experience in Asia, it seems unmistakably clear to me that it is not only unnecessary but extremely harmful. When one adds to this the knowledge of Japan's precarious economic position, the case against rearmament seems to me irrefutable. Communism thrives on substandard economies and on offended nationalist feelings. Rearmament would create both in Japan.

I do not think that our former position of influence and strength through friendship in Asia is irreparably lost, nor that we must make the best of an Asia united against us by continuing to mobilize force against it. We are dealing here, it seems to me, not with ideologies and power cliques, but with the more compelling facts of poverty and nationalism. If we allow or encourage poverty to continue, and ride roughshod over nationalism, we may create the kind of power clique that faces us in Russia, but we shall never prevent it nor do anything but hasten its spread. If, on the other hand, we try to assist economic development and try to work in harmony with the nationalist feelings of Asians, it will be apparent that we have more to offer them than they could win by force, or by subservience to the Soviet Union. . . .

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Rhoads Murphey

March 14, 1955

Dear Senator Lehman:

I was sorry not to find you in when I called at your office yesterday with Mr. Henry Perry of Boston, who has recently returned from a 7-month visit in Japan. He had an opportunity during this time to live with the Japanese people in their own homes and to see from their point of view the problems that they face. It is his considered opinion that to rearm Japan and to keep her insulated from the rest of Asia as a strategic outpost in the cold war against Russia would invite communism not prevent it. . . .

The restoration of a military establishment in Japan also raises the old problem of Japanese militarism. Mr. Perry obtained a very clear picture of this danger during

is visit. Many of the Japanese vith whom he talked said quite rankly that they were a nation of ollowers, who worship power. Vhile that power was represented y our occupation forces, demo- ratic developments had a chance. f, however, we now substitute for hat a native government that has eal military power at its disposal, here is a grave risk that the same roups who controlled a strong apan before will do so again. . . .

Japan's basic need is for eco- nomic viability. She can never chieve that while the rest of Asia s in turmoil and is consequently losed to her trade. Japan has three ourses open to her in this matter: rade with East Asia (primarily China, her major source of raw naterials), heavy subsidization by he United States for an indefinite ime, or the same road of military onquest that she followed before nd which we would give here the neans to implement by encourag- ng and financing her rearmament. There seems to me to be no alter- native to these three. Japan's 85,- 000,000 people must live, and they will take the only means open to them. This suggests that the press- ing need from our own self-in- terest point of view is to create in East Asia conditions under which Japan can live at peace with her neighbors, trading where her econ- omy requires her to do. She can no more live cut off from Asia than Great Britain could live cut off from Europe. The risk that this might present of Soviet infiltration or conquest of Japan is in my view less real and less present than the virtual certainty of disaster if we place our faith in rearmament to protect Japan from communism.

I would like to suggest that in my opinion it is illusory to hope for economic viability for Japan based on her trade with Southeast Asia. Not only is that an as yet little developed market or producer of raw materials, but Japan would have to meet very heavy competi- tion there. . . .

I do not of course suggest that present conditions allow free trade between China and Japan. I do be- lieve, however, that those condi- tions are alterable, and that it is this problem on which we should concentrate our efforts, with the long-term future of Japan (and thus our own interests) in mind. The present international impasse in the Far East is still a relatively recent phenomenon, and is, of course, organically bound up with the issue in Korea, the status of Formosa, and the relation of China to the world community. All these are problems so to speak left over from World War II. They have no permanent relation to the long- standing political and economic factors that have shaped the Far Eastern community. The menace of Soviet influence or conquest here, as elsewhere in the world, is in direct proportion to the degree of poverty, offended nationalist feel- ings, and tyrannical or corrupt government in each country con- cerned. Work on these problems is, in my view, a far more effective protection against communism than is rearmament. And correspond- ingly, genuine and determined ef- forts to reach a settlement of the outstanding international issues in the Far East is our best insurance against another disaster in Japan. . . .

Yours sincerely,
Rhoads Murphey

News from the Peace Front

Rules and Regulations, and Some COs in the Toils of the Law

Pardons

COs who are felons and are tired of awaiting a general amnesty may be able to obtain a pardon by individual application. Some have accomplished this. Blanks and instructions may be procured from the Pardon Attorney, Department of Justice, Washington 25, D. C.

Arrests

Five COs in California have recently been arrested: Roy Elder, Norman Rush, Bob Kent, Robert Linan and Peter Klopfer. Frank Laraway, of Fairhope, Alabama, was arrested for not filling out a questionnaire.

Paroles

Joel Doty, who received a longer sentence than his three brothers when they were all arrested a year and a half ago, received an unconditional parole, effective June 1. Paul, Sid and Orin were scheduled to leave on good time June 10.

Court Decisions

The United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit has affirmed the conviction of Jim George of California, sentenced July 9, 1951, for failure to fill out a questionnaire and refusal to report for induction. In countering the contention of the defense that the Selective Service Act violated freedom of religion, the court emphasized the "Supreme Being" clause in the Selective Service Act of 1948, and excluded "essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code."

Of Human Interest

When a jury found Carlton Owen innocent on a technicality at his trial for failing to carry a draft card, the "defendant," who had pled guilty, rose and offered himself as a witness. Owen, a non-registrant CO, declared himself "willing to go to jail for a hundred years to see the United States replace warfare with the Golden Rule in international relations."

As a result of his testimony, the jury found him guilty of refusal to register. Federal District Judge Carl A. Hatch in Albuquerque, New Mexico, puzzled by Owen's stand, directed that he be examined by a psychiatrist before sentencing.

Selective Service Policies

The I-O draft is getting under way even though funds for this specific purpose were recently refused by Congress. Selective Service can use its general funds for the purpose, instead.

Selective Service is recommending that draft boards give IV-D classification to medical, technical, and other "non-preaching" missionaries provided they have been ordained.

I-O's who are also eligible for III-A, II-C, IV-F, etc., may lose

ill if they are not cautious about their request for reclassification, according to the National Service Board for Religious Objectors. In several cases touchy draft boards have decided, on reconsideration, that after all the applicant was more interested in deferment per se than in religious ideas, and have classified COs I-A.

To allow a lawyer or a friend to write any of one's CO statements may be an incriminating factor, according to a reliable source. If one's file is either too inconsistent as to style of writing, or too professional and legalistic in approach, it may fall under suspicion.

The Army

A soldier (non-I-A-O) who wishes to object, on religious grounds, to combatant training, must present a certificate from the pastor of his church stating that he was a member at the time of induction, and that the conviction either of the church or of the individual will not permit of combatant military activities.

Movie Studio Screens Employes

R.K.O. Radio Pictures has ceased operations entirely and placed its employes on leave indefinitely while it screens its personnel for possible Communist sympathies. Howard Hughes, studio manager and principal stockholder, laments that all of the eleven best film stories out of 150 inspected by the studio during the past six months have been discarded because the writers were found to be suspected of Communist leanings.

German Group Sponsors Work Camps

Nothelfergemeinschaft der Freunde has organized five pacifist work camps, which opened early in July and will close toward the end of September. One is in northern Germany, one in the south, two are in Hesse, near Frankfort, and one is in the avalanche area of Austria. All are devoted to understanding, reconciliation and reconstruction. FOR member Paul Krahe is secretary of the group.

Congressmen Study India Project

Sudhir Ghosh, a former associate of Mohandas Gandhi, arrived in the United States not long ago at the invitation of Senator Owen Brewster to interest government officials and Congressmen in the story of Faridabad, an experimental Indian community of which he is the head. Mr. Ghosh and others interested in his project hope that the United States will give $1 million in wheat over the next four years to help build similar self-supporting, integrated communities all over India using the human and natural resources available.

Faridabad, originally a rural village, was transformed by a loan of $5 million into an industrial center where some 50,000 refugees were enabled to support themselves. Tens of thousands of peasants in the surrounding area were indirectly benefited. The project improved housing, built some thirty miles of roads, an underground water supply, power facilities, schools, a health center and a hospital.

Detainment Camps Prepared

Any time there's a national emergency due to invasion, war or insurrection, the Federal prison system has ready five large detention camps "in case of a spy and saboteur roundup." The announcement was made by James V. Bennett, director of the Bureau of Prisons, who said that the camps are located at El Reno, Okla., Avon Park, Fla., Allentown, Pa., and Wickenburg and Florence, Ariz.

Legislation now in Congress would enable the President to declare an emergency and order such a roundup.

Pacifist Denied Passport to Japan

Without being informed of the reason, Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, Executive Secretary of the Protestant Council's Brooklyn Division and an FOR member, was denied a United States passport to visit Japan. Dr. Carpenter had planned to leave in April for an extensive series of meetings and services with Japanese church leaders and Sunday school groups and to participate in ceremonies connected with the new Japan Christian University.

In a Kafka-like manner, the time came for Dr. Carpenter's departure without his having received any word from the authorities. Upon inquiry, he was informed that further checking for reasons of security was necessary. Subsequently, after considerable pressure had been brought to bear, Mrs. Ruth Shipley, chief of the Passport Division, made the statement that "Dr. Carpenter knows the answer for our refusal of a passport. It is his political activities." No specific charges whatever have been made, and there the case stands.

Dr. Carpenter is treasurer of the Peace Fellowship of Presbyterians, secretary of the Urban Church Department of the National Council of Churches, president of the Brooklyn Council on Social Planning, and is a member of the board of directors of the International Association of Daily Vacation Bible Schools and the League for Industrial Democracy.

Attempt to Change Segregation on Buses

The Greyhound Corporation's policy of segregating passengers on its buses throughout the South underwent severe criticism at the company's annual stockholders' meeting held in Wilmington, Delaware, on May 20. Bayard Rustin and Jim Peck, representing thirteen people who hold a total of 277 shares, were ranged against some fifteen other proxies who represented over seven million shares and succeeded in engaging them in a lively discussion of the effects of jim crow on the American Negro, on universal morality, and on this country's efforts towards world leadership.

Because extensive efforts to have the issue of segregation placed on the agenda had been blocked at every turn, Bayard Rustin rose to speak to an early item on the agenda, the election of officers. He took the opportunity to question the wisdom of re-electing officers who had consistently ignored the United States Supreme Court's decision that racial segregation placed

n undue burden on interstate ravel. After thirty-two minutes of ebate on the issue the weight of even million shares smothered the pinion represented by the 272, and he same officers were appointed or another year. However, the hairman said, "I feel that this dis-ussion has had a real effect on veryone here, and I, personally, m very concerned about the latter."

The thirteen stockholders who ent Mr. Rustin and Mr. Peck as heir representatives are members f CORE (Congress of Racial quality) and the FOR, who for ome time have been quietly ac-umulating stock in the Greyhound orporation with the hope of being ble ultimately to influence the ompany's discriminatory practices.

During the course of the meeting he minority representatives based heir opposition on consideration ot only of what is right and what s legal, but also of what is eco-omically sound for the company.

Mr. Rustin requested figures on he annual expense to the company f legal cases brought against it on he basis of the Supreme Court's rene Morgan decision. Figures vere not available. The chairman tated that in the company's pinion the Irene Morgan decision vas ambiguous, and said that in-tructions which had been and vould be sent to drivers from time o time could not go beyond the nherent ambiguity of the decision.

Pacifists Hold Conferences in Italy

A series of conferences on paci-ism are being held in Italy this ear under the leadership of the amous pacifist and fighter for democracy, Aldo Capitini. The first was held in January in memory of Gandhi; the second, in June, was devoted to a study of the relation of nonviolence to education, psychology and human nature. The third will be held in Perugia and Assisi on Sept. 12 and 13, and will concern man's relation to the animal and vegetable world, while the final one in Florence on Dec. 27 and 28 will be on nonviolence in society: its effects on imperialism, capitalism, totalitarianism, and state centralism.

Saint Francis Sculptured by Pacifist

Georges Boulogne, a young French FOR member, has recently completed a noteworthy statue of St. Francis of Assisi as a gift to Meeting Hill, Littleton, New Hampshire, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Woodward Kahler, well-known among pacifists for their non-predatory way of life—a respect for all forms of living creatures. Boulogne has been able to catch this same spirit in his portrayal of that much-loved saint, who could preach to birds as well as to noted religious dignitaries of his day.

Ellis Settle, who was present at the unveiling of the work, says that the young sculptor is the first artist since the Renaissance to portray the saint as his writings show him to have been: a man with but one desire, "to mirror the glory of God." He goes on to remark, "In India, in China, in Africa, this statue would be understood and would inspire religious awe. Indians, Chinese, Africans who have never heard of St. Francis would recognize it as a portrait of a holy man."

Pacifist Library Founded in Holland

A library and documentation service on pacifist movements throughout the world has been founded by the B.E.D.A., Stadhouderskade 116, Amsterdam, Netherlands. It is hoped that it may become universal in scope and of scientific value, and Niek J. Verkruisen, Secretary, has requested contributions of significant papers, leaflets and books.

In September, the B.E.D.A. will start publication of a quarterly, containing information about pacifism in Holland.

Belgian Industrialist Opposes War Contract

When the United States Air Force recently sought to contract certain European companies for the construction of 400 air fields in Belgium, France and Spain, an executive of one of the prospective companies created considerable excitement in Western Europe by objecting and threatening to resign if his company made a bid.

Baron Antoine Allard of Belgium, a pacifist, in opposing a bid by his company, compared the building of airfields to the interbellum activities of the Krupp and Farben industries, for which those companies were subsequently called to task at the Nürnberg trials. "I do not wish our company to act in the same way and meet the same fate," he said, and added, "I am calling on employees to refuse to collaborate with the former tormentors of our country."

During the course of the administrative meeting at which the subject was discussed, it was disclosed that the Americans, before requesting bids, had ascertained the political opinions of the Board's members. This knowledge incensed Board members greatly, but not enough to outweigh the economic advantages of a contract from the United States Air Force. Baron Allard concluded by resigning from the Board, feeling that he could not be associated with a firm that was doing war work. He is continuing to campaign among the employees of the company to persuade them to refuse to work on the contract.

Unusual Thanksgiving Celebrated in Iowa

Osage, Iowa, a town of 3,500 has placed itself on the map of the world because of the manner in which its residents observe Thanksgiving Day. A host of foreign students are invited to the town for the weekend. Last year forty-one from eighteen nations, representing eight religious sects, arrived from Iowa State University. Virtually the whole town rose to the occasion —the churches, the Rotary Club, and the town newspaper, as well as plain citizens.

Some of the townspeople met racial and national types they had never before seen, and the visitors had a chance to view the grass-roots of American culture, witnessing everything from milkings to a Congregational church on fire. For those involved, visitors and visited alike, the experience was educational, adventurous and advantageous to all. Other communities might very well take a leaf from the Osage book.

Jottings

A significant Holy Week retreat on peace and the spiritual life was held at Kingwood Community under the sponsorship of the FOR Spiritual Life Committee. Speakers and leaders were John W. Thomas, A. J. Muste, and Francis B. Hall.

Tomiko Kora, FOR member, and member of the Japanese Diet's upper house, quietly flew from Paris to the Moscow International Economic Conference despite the Japanese Government's refusal to issue anyone a permit.

Gabriel Pascal is to produce a film of the life of Gandhi, based on a story written by Pyarelal, who was the Mahatma's secretary, and Geza Herzog, a Hollywood film writer. Aldous Huxley is to collaborate in writing the script, and it is expected that Paul Muni will play the title role.

"Since Christianity and war are utterly opposed," and since the principle of church and state separation is still a valid one, the Methodist Church's General Conference has advised Methodist colleges against having ROTC units.

August 16-24 is the date set for the annual retreat-workshop of the Far West FOR. It will be held at Gardena, California, and leaders will include Eddy Asirvatham of India, and Dr. Harvey Seifert.

A new means has been devised for treating severe burns due to an atomic explosion. No bandage is used, so that a "firm dry crust" forms within twenty-four hours, leaving doctors, nurses and bandages free for more serious cases. This announcement was made by Col. William S. Stone, of the Army Medical Graduate School, Washington.

$1,250,000 earned by COs during World War II but not paid to them, remains intact as a "frozen fund" in the Treasury's deep freeze. Hope of Congressional authorization to use it to send books or food overseas is gone for this session.

Two-thirds of the Friends, having abandoned the absolute pacifism of Quaker tradition, support instead a political pacifism based on hopes of disarmament, reconstruction, and world government. The other third are divided between traditional absolutists and militarists, estimates the Peace Committee of the Philadelphia Society of Friends.

Anyone who finds himself in Alaska this summer might do well to get in touch with Dr. Ben H. McConnell, head of the Hudson Stuck Memorial Hospital, Fort Yukon. Dr. McConnell, an FOR member, says there is a tremendous amount of work that needs to be done among the Eskimos, and would be glad to have helpers.

Letters

Now in Germany

Dear Friends:

Life here has become very interesting. I am rather depressed, however, that our peace efforts fall on such difficult ground. The speech by Professor Iwand, sponsored by the Emergency Committee for European Peace, was a great success. Other speeches by Dr. Heinemann and Helene Wessel had been scheduled. But then came all the confusion and official refusal to use the Funkhalle and the Titania Palast, the largest halls in Berlin, followed by press conferences on our side commenting on these refusals. Finally we got two privately owned theaters in Neukölln.

Then a group of undemocratic elements, who were opposed to our meeting, pasted strips over our posters for the meeting reading "Paid by Moscow" and on other days, "Program cancelled." That is the kind of method they use.

On the evening of their talks attempts were made to interrupt the speakers with hooting and booing. Gangs of intruders chanted "Frau Wessel's goal: The Russian payroll" and "The kind of peace Frau Wessel describes—will make our youth lose their lives." The room filled with noise, stink-bombs and propaganda leaflets.

Outside, the crowd was put in an uproar. Police fought for order. Our car was almost overturned. Stones flew through the air. This was among the thousands of people who were waiting outside the doors. Helene Wessel in particular had a hard time making herself heard. Isn't it terrible that people have become again so brutalized? . . .

How can you help us? That is hard to answer. Our fight for peace using every resource has grown enormously but no one has any idea how it will end, because funds are short and contributions are hard to get for every peace organization. But only to know that we have friends in the United States who know of our battle and are interested in our fate helps a lot to strengthen us.

West Berlin, Germany

Standard of Living

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In the April issue, the writer of the "Letter from Berlin" makes a remark which should not pass without correction. "The USA is consuming about two-thirds of the petrol of the whole world, and with many another commodity it is the same. . . . The American standard of living can be maintained only at the expense of the huge mass of other people. Every increase of the standard of living in the USA makes the abyss even deeper."

First, the USA, with about one-fourth of the world's petroleum reserves, is producing about three-fourths of the world's petroleum. The American petroleum industry is clearly exploiting American resources. The USA imports petroleum for processing but exports processed petroleum in amounts greater than it imports unprocessed petroleum. Does this constitute exploitation?

It is much the same with other commodities. American industry is ever seeking to become independent of foreign sources of supply. It is more and more

exploiting American natural resources and less and less the resources of other parts of the world; e.g., American synthetic fibers have replaced much foreign silk, wool and other fibers; synthetic plastic varnishes substitute for shellac from India; and a new process will enable our industries to utilize our native low-grade mica for electrical insulation instead of imported high-grade mica.

This does reduce the standard of living in those regions of the world from which we formerly imported raw materials. However, the lowered standard of living is not due to our supposed increased share of the raw materials of other countries.

The answer to this problem is for the affected regions to develop their own industries to utilize the raw materials which we no longer need. Misunderstanding, as exemplified in the "Letter from Berlin," is not the answer. All the world can have a standard of living as high as ours (and much higher) if it desires; standards of living are limited only by man's ingenuity.

(Please note that I am not a champion of competition. I personally believe in consumers cooperatives and similar democratic, non-competitive forms of economic activity.)

REINO W. HAKALA
Syracuse, New York

Correction

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Belatedly reading the February issue tonight I was definitely in a mood of fellowship. From the front cover on through I found the articles both interesting and warming. Then suddenly, in the midst of an absorbing story about an experiment in interracial friendliness I came on this statement: "Like the Japanese General who beat the Colonel, the Colonel who beat the Major, and so on down to the Private who beat the

Third Printing
I know of nothing that compares with this book.
DOUGLAS V. STEERE

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prisoner. Not so much race feeling, as class or caste."

This comment inserted casually stopped me in my tracks. For doesn't it imply that the Japanese armed forces deliberately make a systematic practice of brutality? And since the Japanese are used as illustration it also implies that they do this more than other peoples. This charge was of course asserted as part of our wartime propaganda. But is it true, or just another example of the sort of blanket condemnation by race that Mr. Maclean so objects to?

My own impression—from my reading of war novels and press accounts, and my study of the record of the Japanese war crimes trials—is that the Japanese armed forces, as a whole, were no more brutal than any other. Certainly the "private" did not routinely "beat the prisoner," no matter what the General habitually did to the Colonel. Brutality would seem to be an individual rather than a racial characteristic. Armies of course are full of brutality . . . all armies. Not, especially, the Japanese.

HELEN MEARS
New York City

(Miss Mears is right to catch us up on something that may have given other readers as well a wrong impression. The story, however, is not to be taken literally, of the Japanese or any other army. It is an allegory that is told of them all, and is intended to illustrate how human beings take out their own frustrations and failures on anyone handy who cannot retaliate. It is also particularly apposite in that armies of all kinds, by their authoritarian "chain-of-command" nature, present an ideal opportunity for this kind of tyranny.)

Life Insurance

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Recently I took out a life insurance policy, and I have listed the FOR as primary beneficiary in the amount of 50% of the policy. I thought that you would like to have this information for your files.

—AN F.O.R. MEMBER

BRUDERHOF

(*Cont. from p. 5*)

on a table lit by one candle and with a circle of flowers around it. One of the Dieners then picks it up and gives it to the parents as a sign that it is more than the personal property of the parents but is returned to them as their special responsibility. All these times bring the children into the community life.

The Bruderhof way of life indicates more and more clearly that a true Christian life means cutting oneself loose from the privileges that separates man from man. And it seems to show that life by oneself or in an ordinary group cannot give the effective lesson to the world that is offered by such a community as this, admitting all who are in "inner need"—an expression frequently used—and helping each individual to fulfill himself in service to all.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 905 Creston Road, Berkeley, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 820 So. St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles, Cal.

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By LEWIS MACLACHLAN

"The Cross sets forth in dreadful emphasis the truth that forgiveness, which must be free to the forgiven, is supremely costly to the forgiver." Thus says Lewis Maclachlan in this examination of various aspects of the Christian belief, as he searches for the true meaning of Christianity in the sacrifice of the Cross.

Lewis Maclachlan is the editor of the British FOR magazine *Reconciliation.*

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PRIVATE VIEW of a PUBLIC MAN

The Life of Leyton Richards

By EDITH RYLEY RICHARDS

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———*How should he raise his children?*

———*How must he prepare for the days ahead?*

———*What is his role in a world where pacifists constitute a minority?*

The most exciting conference in years will be the FOR's National Conference this fall at Lancaster, Ohio. On Friday evening A. J. Muste will open the conference with an analysis of the world situation and the chances for peace, to be followed by brief opening statements by a psychologist, an economist, a sociologist, a theologian and others, of the situation from the point of view of their specialty.

On Saturday morning A. J. Muste and the experts will form a panel for a thorough-going discussion of the subject introduced the night before, with questions from the floor. In the afternoon there will be further discussion, possibly in smaller groups.

On Saturday evening K. K. Chandy, active in the Indian FOR and head of Christava Ashram in India, will give the address, and will also preach the sermon on Sunday morning. It is hoped that Christopher Tang, who recently got himself and his wife out of their native China after harrowing difficulties, will also speak on Saturday evening.

F.O.R. National Conference
Lancaster, Ohio
September 5-7, 1952

For reservations and further information, write to
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